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SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture Livestock $	Agriculture Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %	
1.°	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4	
2.	48,00	54,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....	
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....	
4.	22,20	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	389,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	65,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....	
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
10.°	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	680,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
14.°	190,00	4,2	1.810,00	46,5	880,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	888,00	22,8	.....	....	
15.°	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....	

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

6: Bernal Villa--91 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Family Expenses -- 1953

MOSOCO

/See p. 94 for the note and footnotes for this table./

Fams.	Drugs		Medical		Food		Clothing	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1.*	500,00	10,3	300,00	6,1	2.798,00	57,6	980,00	20,2
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	410,10	57,9	195,50	27,6
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	228,00	56,3	151,00	28,1
4.	6,00	0,8	... ..	..	316,40	40,3	103,00	13,1
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	345,60	67,5	108,50	28,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	690,60	66,2	176,00	16,8
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	402,40	35,6	81,90	7,2
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	276,80	38,9	137,00	19,2
9.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	558,00	43,7	223,00	17,6
10.	... ..	...	... ..	..	456,50	56,1	214,00	26,3
11.	10,00	1,7	... ..	..	151,80	26,4	88,50	15,4
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	327,60	45,1	159,70	21,9
13.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	734,40	69,2	133,00	12,5
14.	... ..	...	... ..	..	461,60	38,5	278,00	23,2
15.	... ..	...	... ..	..	383,20	29,4	158,50	12,1
16.	... ..	...	... ..	..	195,76	35,7	113,00	20,5
17.	... ..	...	... ..	..	189,60	63,2	62,00	20,6
18.	43,00	2,2	... ..	..	426,66	22,0	168,80	8,7
19.	65,00	4,8	... ..	..	213,33	13,4	294,70	18,5
20.	... ..	...	... ..	..	238,30	42,0	82,00	14,4
21.	... ..	...	... ..	..	188,00	31,8	104,50	17,7
22.	... ..	...	... ..	..	221,20	16,8	191,00	14,5
23.	... ..	...	... ..	..	192,00	31,6	166,00	27,3
24.	6,00	1,3	... ..	..	155,00	34,7	173,50	38,6
25.*	120,00	1,1	12,00	0,1	3.566,40	35,4	2.497,70	24,8

LAME

1.*	5,00	0,1	18,00	0,6	698,40	25,7	420,00	15,4
2.	0,70	0,2	... ..	..	55,20	19,6	114,00	40,6
3.	5,10	1,1	... ..	..	158,40	34,7	91,40	20,0
4.*	40,00	1,6	... ..	..	1.173,12	42,9	268,00	9,8
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	66,00	11,1	64,00	10,8
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	93,00	18,2	61,00	11,9
7.	3,00	1,0	... ..	..	115,50	41,4	37,50	13,4
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	170,40	64,5	54,50	20,6

SAN ANDRES

1.*	8,00	0,1	... ..	..	2.265,60	42,5	801,00	15,0
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	23,25	25,1	27,00	30,5
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	75,00	40,1	64,00	34,1
4.	... ..	...	... ..	..	29,60	37,8	46,05	58,8
5.	28,00	4,6	... ..	..	172,80	27,6	98,30	15,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	68,00	27,8	81,00	32,7
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	168,40	48,0	68,50	20,9
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	165,60	36,0	154,00	33,4
9.	... ..	...	... ..	..	106,50	24,2	115,00	26,1
10.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	933,60	41,6	357,00	15,9
11.	15,00	0,5	... ..	..	1.644,80	52,9	372,00	13,6
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	19,20	11,2	59,80	35,1
13.	10,00	1,5	... ..	..	115,20	17,7	44,00	6,7
14.*	103,50	2,6	5,00	0,1	1.684,80	43,3	554,60	14,2
15.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	960,00	36,6	280,50	10,6

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	8,00	1,2	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	... ..	...
6.	... ..	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	... ..	...
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	45,60	4,0	... ..	...
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	7,0	... ..	...
9.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,00	4,4	... ..	...
10.	... ..	..	... ..	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,2	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	9,4	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	72,00	6,7	... ..	...
14.	... ..	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	... ..	...
15.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	... ..	..	... ..	...	26,40	4,8	... ..	...
17.	... ..	..	... ..	...	18,00	6,0	... ..	...
18.	... ..	..	... ..	...	84,00	4,3	... ..	...
19.	... ..	..	30,00	1,8	... ..	...	... ..	...
20.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,3	... ..	...
21.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	... ..	...	100,80	7,2	... ..	...
23.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,60	9,5	... ..	...
24.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	... ..	...
25.	*4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	... ..	...

Lame

1.	*... ..	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	8,00	1,7	... ..	...
4.	*... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...

San Andres

1.	*2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	*34,20	1,3	... ..	...	67,20	3,0	... ..	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	12,7	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	28,80	4,4	... ..	...
14.	*... ..	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	... ..	...
15.	*13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	... ..	...

SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

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Fams.	Amusements $	%	Finca $	%	Improvements $	%	Savings
1.*	128,00	2,6	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
2.	60,00	8,4	.... ..	...	12,00	1,6	
3.	126,40	23,5	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	(1)
4.	2,00	0,3	110,00	14,0	176,20	22,5	
5.	34,00	6,6	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	(2)
6.	25,00	2,4	40,00	3,8	44,40	4,2	
7.	150,00	13,2	110,00	9,7	339,60	30,0	
8.	60,00	8,4	.... ..	...	195,20	26,4	
9.	100,00	7,7	.... ..	...	324,00	25,0	
10.	10,00	1,2	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
11.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	287,70	58,1	
12.	50,00	6,8	75,00	10,3	45,30	6,2	
13.	36,90	3,4	.... ..	...	73,80	6,9	
14.	60,00	5,0	250,00	20,8	115,40	9,6	
15.	192,00	14,7	200,00	15,3	201,90	15,5	
16.	50,00	9,1	.... ..	...	161,84	29,5	
17.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	30,40	18,1	
18.	30,00	1,2	160,00	6,2	1.833,24	53,3	
19.	10,00	0,6	125,00	8,0	844,97	53,2	
20.	10,00	1,7	192,00	33,8	8,70	1,5	
21.	30,00	5,0	.... ..	...	97,10	16,4	
22.	100,00	7,6	95,30	7,2	630,90	48,3	
23.	60,00	9,9	.... ..	...	130,60	21,5	
24.	80,00	17,9	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	(3)
25.*	226,00	2,2	361,00	3,5	1.356,00	13,4	(4)

Lame

1.*	.... ..	...	375,00	13,8	1.135,90	41,8	
2.	18,00	6,4	.... ..	...	18,20	6,4	
3.	30,00	6,5	.... ..	...	163,10	35,7	
4.*	.... ..	...	710,00	25,9	540,88	19,7	
5.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	282,00	47,6	
6.	.... ..	...	144,00	28,3	147,90	29,0	
7.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	58,50	18,1	
8.	26,00	9,8	.... ..	...	13,10	4,9	

San Andres

1.*	240,00	4,5	1.060,50	19,9	747,50	14,0	
2.	0,75	0,2	.... ..	...	7,50	8,6	
3.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	29,00	15,4	
4.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	2,55	3,2	
5.	85,20	13,6	.... ..	...	94,80	15,0	
6.	20,00	8,0	.... ..	...	2,50	1,0	
7.	24,00	7,3	.... ..	...	28,10	8,5	
8.	130,00	28,2	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	(5)
9.	100,00	22,7	.... ..	...	59,60	13,3	
10.*	200,00	8,9	366,00	16,3	242,00	10,8	
11.	.... ..	...	500,00	18,2	227,45	8,3	
12.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	69,40	40,8	
13.	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	452,90	69,5	
14.*	100,00	2,5	292,00	7,5	593,20	15,2	(6)
15.*	10,00	0,2	360,00	13,7	983,60	37,5	

511 563 /The following note and footnotes appear under the preceding table in the original text./

NOTE: The peso sign ($) indicates the total expenses and % indicates the percentage of expenses under one heading with relation to the total expenses. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

1. Deficit of 50 pesos or 8.6%.

2. Deficit of 39 pesos or 4.6%.

3. Deficit of 29.50 pesos or 7.5%.

4. Transportation expenses 35 pesos or 0.3%.

5. Deficit of 7.10 pesos or 1.4%.

6. Transportation expenses 39.90 pesos or 1.6%.

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75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
●511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is a Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the tẽ eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
● 511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

/362 cont./

511 438 439 [301] [223] The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts, hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children. Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco, gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades 511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always 511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column 454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families [434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[See p. 93 for this table--Analyst]

/363 cont./

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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $ 2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 7/1 we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

7/1 [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93-Au.]

6: Bernal Villa--112 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/364 cont./

in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas. These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

Before closing the present work we wish to describe in broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

/365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas, isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.